



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

### Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

### About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



F  
574  
.M2  
B15  
C77

MACKINAW  
— IN HISTORY



RECEIVED  
LIBRARY  
OCT 11

*Gift from the Author*

—



# MACKINAW — IN — HISTORY

5-6164

A Critique  
ON  
DR. JOHN R. BAILEY'S BROCHURE  
ENTITLED  
MACKINAW,  
FORMERLY MICHILIMACKINAC.

BY SAMUEL F. <sup>Catcher</sup> COOK.

AUTHOR'S EDITION.

LANSING, MICHIGAN.  
1895.





**Dress of  
Robert Smith & Co.  
Lansing, Mich.**





## MACKINAW IN HISTORY.

It was with a feeling of satisfaction that I took up a recent pamphlet of 220 pages, bearing the title, "Mackinaw, formerly Michilimackinac. Looking backwards to about the time of the flood, and forward to the present time. By Col. John R. Bailey," for many years Post surgeon at Fort Mackinaw. In view of Dr. Bailey's long residence at Mackinaw and vicinity, and the opportunities thus afforded for historical research, I felt certain that I should find not only a pleasing recital of well ascertained facts, but a possible solution of questions which to me have seemed undetermined. But in scanning these pages for evidence of original research or answers to puzzling queries, I met not only disappointment but an astounding array of inaccuracies of statement, at points where it seems inexcusable.

The title of the first chapter seems misleading—"Mackinaw, formerly Michilimackinac."

To the modern reader, Mackinaw is a lovely



island in the straits connecting Lakes Michigan and Huron, while Michilimackinac is, as it was under both the French and British regimes, the name of a region of indefinite extent bordering on and including those straits. To the careful reader of those well nigh inexhaustible mines of fact and fiction, the Jesuit Relations, this fact cannot fail to be apparent. It was only after the British had located on the island what they intended to be a permanent occupation, and Governor General Haldimand had signified what the name of the new fort should be, that the name gradually assumed the shortened form, and finally became localized. The list of spellings of the name of this part of the country, given on page 30 of this book, could be readily doubled by a patient reader, who would be impressed only with the slight education of the writer and not at all by any idea of evolution of language. The following is a fair sample of the spelling in the average official letter of those days:

*Michilimackinac, July 29, 1780.*

DEAR FRIEND: I am sorry to acquaint you of the yussage I geet hier from Leake Muschagan being heir



---

plying between Mackeina and Mackina Island, etc.

NORMAN MCKAY,

*Master of the Felicity.*

The indian deed of the island given in 1781 says that it was called by the Canadians "La Grosse Isle;" and as they constituted the bulk of the white population of the region at that time, that must be regarded as its true historic name.

Our author seems to delight chiefly in the indians and the unsubstantial traditions which have been wafted forward from the dark ages on this continent, and although a large portion of the book is devoted to the tribal wars and massacres which caused extensive changes of habitat, he has failed to note the connection between all this and a history of Mackinaw, as well as the fact that among all the tribes who frequented that region Mackinaw Island was a sacred spot where they gathered at varying intervals to appease the wrath of the Great Manitou, or as a place of safety when in fear of their foes. Large villages stopped there on their way to and from their hunting grounds for rest and worship; but none made it a permanent home.



The claim made on page 25, that "1700-1701. Before and after these last dates the capital and the metropolis of the Province of Michilimackinac was on the island of the same name, in the straits of Michilimackinac. It was not only the seat of justice and base of supplies, but the center of trade of a vast territory. It was the headquarters of French traders and trappers and their *Couriers de Bois* and white and indian employes;" is absolutely without foundation. The French were too politic to in any way offend the superstitions of the indians, and were too intent on securing their good will to establish a fort and trading station on a spot sacred to their Deity, and where they laid away their dead. The Doctor may have been misled in this by the Rev. Chrysostom Verwyst, who states in his "*Missionary labors of Marquette, Mesnard and Allouez*," that it was there (on the island) the mission of St. Ignatius was founded before it was established at Point St. Ignace." But Mr. Verwyst had failed to appreciate the nomadic character of the indians of that period, and the conditions under which Marquette found a large number of them on the island,



and at once began his work among them. It was simply that a large village was there making inquiry of the Deity as to their plans for the future, when he arrived; he made their acquaintance and preached the gospel to them, and when they went away, he went with them. Mackinaw island was never occupied by the French either as a mission site, a trading point or a military post. It is entirely safe to say that the flag of France never floated on the island during the period of its ascendancy in that region. The French relied more on their *suaviter in modo* for success than did the British, and established fewer places of military defense. On the neighboring mainland shore of East Moran bay, however, their defenses were in accord with the military ideas of that time.

Sixty-eight pages of this book are used for the recital of the tale of the Pontiac conspiracy and the massacre at Michilimackinac, taken from Parkman's history, into which it had been copied from Henry's Travels. This blood-curdling narrative of the effort of the indians to free themselves from British domination, by the destruction on June 4, 1763, of



the English in and about Fort Michilimackinac, seems entirely foreign to the subject at hand. The fort was on the southern mainland, a short distance west of the present village of Mackinaw City. It is evident that in those days it was a lovely spot, but devoid of either a harbor protected from the winds, or any natural defenses. Why each succeeding would-be-historian of Mackinaw must incorporate in his work this terrible recital from Henry, is an enigma of amateur authorship difficult of solution.

Following this, Dr. Bailey says, "A little more than a year after the massacre, Michilimackinac was occupied by the *couriers de bois* and such indian bands as chose to make it a temporary residence; but after the treaty with the indians, Captain Howard, with a detachment of troops, was sent by Col. Bradstreet to take possession of it, and 'once more the cross of St. George was a rallying point, and the protection of adventurous traders.'" If this be true, when and at what point did the British locate prior to the establishment of the fort on the island? It seems to have been assumed by all who have undertaken to go over this sub-



ject that when the British returned to that region, they located where seventy or more of their comrades had been brutally murdered. But this seems by no means certain.

The descriptions given by the commandants at that post in 1778-9-80, in their official correspondence, do not coincide with the conditions existing at what is now known as Old Fort Mackinaw. Major A. S. De Peyster wrote to the Governor General, May 30, 1778, "It is dangerous to leave this post any longer without a vessel to winter at it, and there is constant employment for one all summer, besides that the appearance of an armed vessel awes the savages who are encamped where they can annoy the fort without our being able to bring a gun to bear upon them unless it be from the water. I hope therefore my having armed and put soldiers on board this sloop will meet with your approbation." Even our author will be unable to bring himself to believe that any small sloop could ride at anchor for a time sufficient to serve as a defense, in the unsheltered water in front of the Old Fort.

On Sept. 21, following, Major De Peyster



wrote, "this is but a patched picketed fort at best, much incumbered with wooden houses and *commanded even by small arms*, all of which has been repeatedly reported before your arrival in Canada our strength here consisting in the good understanding kept up with the indians made it not so necessary it could not be done in the place the fort is now situated it being an intire sand and low swamp." Under date of June 20, 1779, Major De Peyster wrote to Capt. Brehm, the Governor General's secretary, a long letter describing the fort defenses, in which is the following: "Some time ago I informed His Excellency we were commanded by *Sand Hills*. Since which we have endeavored to level them, much has been done but we have but twelve spades so that there remains a great hill still to remove. The drifts from those hills are like snow drifts, which we are after every storm obliged to remove."

As will be readily seen by those familiar with the Lake Michigan shore, Fort Michilimackinac was then situated among shifting sand dunes, between and among which were basins of water. But this does not at all accord





with the conditions at the site near Mackinaw City. The theory that it was from there that the British moved when they established themselves on the island must be laid aside, and the real location sought beneath the shifting sands at some other point along the coast.

In a chronology of that region, our author gives June 2, 1763, as the date of the massacre at the Old Fort. Henry, whose account is regarded as thoroughly reliable, places it on June 4, and Major Etherington, the Post Commandant, in a letter written on the 11th, says it occurred on the 4th; but in a letter he wrote the next day, he says it was on the 2d of June. Mr. Henry says it took place on the King's birthday; and since he was a good Briton, that would seem to add certainty to his date: George III was born June 4.

Dr. Bailey has collected but meagre material relative to the removal of the British from the mainland to the island. He states that in 1764 the French began to move there, and that the settlement may date from that period. It is possible that he refers to the French Canadians, who were the bulk of the white population of that region. But there is rea-

103



son to doubt the authenticity of the statement that any number of those people left the military post with its advantages, to live apart on the island. They depended too entirely on the Post and the traders for employment, to admit of even the thought. They were the *voyageurs*, the *couriers de bois*, the *engagés*, the men of all work about the Post, and to leave the fort, meant to go without wages and without supplies. In the absence of positive authority, the statement is highly improbable. Fifteen years later, 1779, Lt. Governor Sinclair wrote the Governor General's Secretary that a number of those people had asked permission to move to the island in view of the probable removal of the Fort the next season, and that he had refused to allow them there, until he should hear from the Governor General on the matter.

The reason for the removal of the Post to the island, the Doctor states, "was on account of its commanding position, adaptability for defense with a small force, and strategic importance;" but on what authority, he does not inform us. Major De Peyster made no mention of any such reasons for the removal

!!!



when he asked permission therefor. He represented their then location as untenable and impossible of defense, and that the site he had chosen on the island afforded a high bluff adapted to fortification, and that the bay indenting the island from the southeast would furnish a deep and sheltered anchorage for vessels. He dwelt especially on the fertile character of the soil on the island which would enable the Post to raise a large portion of their supplies, and thus materially lessen the enormous expense incurred in the transport of provisions from Montreal in batteaux. His successors laid stress on the need of completing the fortifications, on the ground that it was necessary in order to impress the indians with the strength and determination of the British to preserve their foothold in that region against all comers.

This history contains scant recital of the building of the fort and its several structures, simply skimming over the subject without detail; and that too, at a time when anything with a flavor of antiquity is eagerly sought for and relished as of surpassing interest. Fortunately the letters of the commandants sup-



ply the material for a connected account of the work of construction. During the winter of 1779-80, as Capt. Sinclair, Lt. Governor of the province, wrote on February 15 of the latter year, a wharf had been carried out in Haldimand bay, 150 feet, into two fathoms of water, and was nearly filled with stone. Four acres had been cleared for the fort site on the bluff, 30,000 shingles had been made, the timber squared for the block houses, and 3000 cedar pickets (poles 18 ft. long) had been made ready for the stockade on the lower ground. During the winter, those at work on the island (a corporal and six men with a band of Canadians), had been left without defenses, only having a cabin for protection. At the same time he had worked hard all winter in strengthening the stockade and building a block house on the mainland, while the savages had gotten out 16,000 ft. of plank and boards for use on the island.

The rebel (American) successes in Ohio and around the head of Lake Michigan caused Sinclair to fear that they would seek him out in those northern wilds, and he did his best (with poor judgment, no doubt) to forward



---

the work of construction on the island, even in advance of orders. On May 20 he wrote that he was still pushing the work of fortifying on the main land, by means of a cover to the water, two land bastions and a redan at the extremity of the southwest curtain. On the island he had at that date a block house for the protection of the wharf, and the timbers all in readiness for three more block houses on the fort site, but said that for fear of the rebels at Detroit he did not dare to put them up. On June 8, Capt. Sinclair wrote that everyone was anxious to move to the island, that the houses were being taken down and transferred, and that he had appropriated a large boat for their use in moving. On the 21st he sent forward a memorial of the post traders favoring the removal, but plainly intimating that they would have a claim against the government for losses and expenses resulting therefrom. On July 8 he wrote, "The indians have delivered up the island and formally surrendered it without any present." "I have explained His Excellency's intention to them to make cornfields of the whole island." On the same date he said "Nothing kept me



from the island this year but the want of a cover for our provisions." On the 30th he begged for vessels "to transport pickets, boards, logs and hay to the island."

During September and October Sinclair was sick. In addition to his physical ailment he was in official trouble. He had lost the good will of the other officers at the Post, and the government was becoming aware of and restive in regard to his lavish expenditures of funds. He evinces fear for his safety on the mainland, as having estranged Capt. Mompeyson, senior officer in military command, he suffered a loss of his feeling of security; and at some time during the winter, the exact date not being given in his despatches, he made a panic struck retreat to the island, where there were scant preparations for the accommodation of the 103 soldiers, 37 attaches of the indian department, and nearly 300 Canadians who were the work people for the Post, and leaving behind a sergeant and ten men to defend a fortification with three block houses, more than a quarter of a mile of cedar post picketing pierced for 1000 muskets, and a store of supplies to be dealt to the indians



during the winter. He was greatly relieved, however, in the spring of 1781, by receiving the Governor General's order to push the work on the fort to completion with all speed.

Governor General Fred Haldimand wrote to Capt. Sinclair, August 21, 1780, "There is a paragraph in one of your letters respecting the name of the new fort which Capt. Brehm does not sufficiently comprehend to explain to me. It is, however, my desire that the Post although moved to the island, may still be called Michilimackinac and the Fort be styled Fort Mackinac." In this connection it may be remarked that the bay on the southeast side of the island and which is its only harbor, was called "Haldimand bay" in the despatches from the time of the first mention of removal thither. Under the United States regime, this name, which has an historical interest, seems to have been lost.

On May 12, 1781, Lt. Gov. Sinclair wrote to Capt. Brehm, "Inclosed is the indian deed of this island." Dr. Bailey says, p. 146, "There is somewhere packed away with my old books and papers, the original parchment deed of



the island of Michilimackinac, from the Chipewa indians to St. Clair. It reserved a stone's cast or one hundred feet, of the beach around the island to indians for camping purposes forever."

It would certainly seem that an historian would refresh his memory by consulting the "original parchment" hid away among old papers, before making statements of this kind. But since he did not, it is fortunate that we can supply a copy of the original sent to Gen. Haldimand. Here it is:

**By these Presents** we the following chiefs Kitchie Negon or Grand Sable, Pouanas,

Koupe and Magousseihigan in behalf of ourselves and all others of our Nation the Chipiwas who have or can lay claim to the herein mentioned Island, as being their representatives and Chiefs, by and with mutual consent do surrender and yield up into the hands of Lieut. Governor



KITCHIE NEGON.  
His mark.





Sinclair for the Behalf and use of His Majesty George the Third of Great Britain, France and Ireland King Defender of the Faith, &c &c &c His Heirs Executors, Administrators forever the Island of Michilimackinac or as it is called by the Canadians La Grosse Isle (situate in the strait which joins the Lakes Huron and Michigan) and we do hereby make for ourselves and our Posterity a renunciation of all claims in future to said Island; We also acknowledge to have received by command of His Excellency Frederick Haldimand Esqr. Governor of the Province of Quebec, General & Commander in Chief of all His Majesty's Forces in Canada &c &c &c from the said Lieutenant Governor Sinclair on his Majesty's Behalf, the sum of Five Thousand Pounds New York currency being the adequate and com-



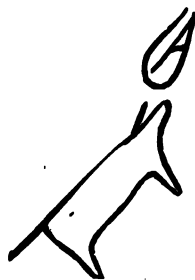
The mark of  
POUANAS.



Mark of POUANAS  
& KAUSSE the same  
nation but different  
Chiefs.



pleat value of the before mentioned Island of Michilimackinac, and have signed two deeds of



Mark of  
MAGOUSSEIGAN.

this tenor and date in the presence of Mathew Lessey, John McNamara, David Rankin, Henry Bostic, Benjamin Lyons, Etienne Campion, and P. Antoine Tabeau the underwritten witnesses, one of which Deeds is to remain with the Governor of Canada, and the other to remain at this Post to certify the same, and

we promise to preserve in our Village a belt of wampum Seven feet in Length to perpetuate



Oka.

secure and be a lasting memorial of the said Transaction to our Nation forever hereafter, and that no defect in Deed from want of Law Forms or any other shall invalidate the same. In witness whereof We

the above mentioned Chiefs do set our Hands & Seals this Twelfth day of May in the



---

year of our Lord one thousand seven Hundred and Eighty one and in the twenty First year of His Majesty's Reign.

[SIGNED]

MATHEW LESSEY

BENJAMIN LYON

DAVID RANKIN

ETT CAMPION

HENRY BOSTIC

P. AN. TABEAU

PATT SINCLAIR

*Lt. Gov. & Commandant.*

JOHN MOMPESON

*Capt. Comg. a Detachment of the King's Regt.*

R. B. BROOKE

*Lieutenant King's or Eighth Regiment.*

JOHN ROBERT McDONALL

*Ensign King's or Eighth Regiment.*

As will be noted by the foregoing deed, it makes no conveyance to St. Clair, as stated by Dr. Bailey, but to King George III. Nor does it make any reservation of a stone's cast around the island for indian camping grounds in perpetuity. That story is simply one of the "fakes" which residents on the island



have palmed off on summer tourists, until they have brought themselves to believe it.

But how does Dr. Bailey come to have the duplicate of this deed "packed away with" his "old books and papers?" The deed provides that it shall remain a permanent record at the Post. Does he mean to inform us that he is one of those curiosity hunters to whom nothing is sacred, and that having the liberty of the Post in his capacity of surgeon, this deed was spirited away from its proper custody and is now lost from view amidst the debris of old chests and drawers in the attic? He says on page 196, that "many of the old records are lost or stolen." It is to be hoped that the State Park Commissioners will not fail to make a demand therefor as necessary to complete their chain of title, which will read somewhat as follows:

MACKINAW ISLAND:

- 1781. Chippewa indians to George III: by deed of sale.
- 1783. George III to United States: by treaty: Possession retained until 1796.



- 
1812. United States to George IV: by conquest.  
1815. George IV to United States: by treaty.  
1895. United States to State of Michigan: by  
statute: in trust.

On July 8, 1781, Sinclair reported that the provision store, the barracks and the magazine were up and the foundation laid for the officers' quarters. On the 31st he wrote that half the garrison and provisions for one hundred men for the year were within the works and that the remainder would be there before October. All this time there were not far from 200 men engaged in the construction of the new fort, or at least drawing pay for being so engaged, and the bills therefor going forward to the Governor General in large sums. In the summer of 1782, Gen. Haldimand sent a Board to examine and report upon the management of the Post and the construction of the fort. Their report with diagram attached, shows that the lines of the fortification were not nearly complete in any part; the barracks was without glass in the windows, only the foundation of the officers' barracks had been laid, and no more



structures begun or completed than Sinclair had reported in July of the year previous. The engineer on the Board estimated that the fort might be put in a condition for defense, on the plan he laid down, by employing 100 men two months. His plan was never carried out. Work was continued each season, but not sufficiently to preserve the timber work from rapid decay.

Skipping over to 1788, Gother Mann, Capt. Royal Engineers, in his report on all the Posts of the lake region, said of the fort on Mackinaw island, "The fort itself has never been completed, the ditches which are in the rock are very little excavated, and the rampart but partly raised, but in order to shut the place up from being surprised by indians or others a picketing has been raised upon it all around which now begins to be very rotten; I had a part of it towards the Bay shored up while I was there, but the bank having slipped from under the wall, there is an opening 40 or 50 feet long into the fort. The soldiers barracks is in indifferent repair. \* \* \* \* There is a pile of building of masonry intended for officers barracks, about half finished; the walls



are nearly raised to their proper height, and the window frames put in, but the roof, floor, etc., are wanting. The commanding officer's house, the indian and engineers' stores are without the fort. There is only one front of the fort that has flanks, which is opposite to the commanding ground." \* \* \* \*

"Considering the foregoing circumstances and situation of the place, I cannot help being of the opinion that as a military post, the greater part of the expense bestowed here has been a waste of money." And he added good military reasons for this view.

The transfer of the British Posts south of Lake Superior to the United States having been accomplished in 1796, our author skims over that and the period to the war of 1812 in less than two pages. To the capture of the Post at Mackinaw on the morning of July 17, 1812, by the British, and the subsequent attempts at recapture by United States forces, he devotes considerable space, but in a manner which seems to indicate an absence of the historical sense and the spirit of research. After a short preliminary statement which



seems founded on tradition rather than authority, he gives entire, Lieut. Hanks' official report of the surprise and capitulation of the garrison. This report was not written until August 12, after his arrival at Detroit, with ample time to think it all over, and closing as it does with a request for a court of inquiry is, as might be expected, a labored attempt at justification.

It is an undoubted necessity in arriving at the truth of military operations, to put together the accounts of both sides. If there was no information accessible relative to the surrender of Fort Mackinaw other than Lieut. Hanks' report, a failure to look farther might be excusable. But the Dominion Archives' office, at Ottawa, is a vast storehouse of historical data in original letters and public and private documents, without an examination and comparison of which no historical study of these northwest countries can be complete.

The reports of the capture of Mackinaw made by Capt. Charles Roberts to Gen. Brock and Adj. Gen. Col. Baynes, are very concise, and indeed too much so to be entirely satisfactory. This may be accounted for by the aid



of the closing sentence in his report to Gen. Brock, where he expresses the hope that he has not exceeded his instructions; as indeed he had. Early in September following the affair at Mackinaw, Sir George Prevost, learning that Tanpoint Pothier, an agent of the North West Fur Co., who had been present at St. Joseph island prior to, and at Mackinaw at the capture, had returned to Montreal, requested of Pothier a full account of the affair, which no doubt was eagerly given. His story condensed within our space is as follows: He arrived at St. Joseph from Montreal, July 3, and found the Post garrisoned by a captain, three officers and forty-five men, and 130 indian warriors of the Sioux and their neighbors from west of Lake Michigan, just arrived under their leader, Robert Dickson, in response to a summons from Gen. Brock. On July 9, a messenger arrived from Gen. Brock announcing the declaration of war, and on the 10th Capt. Roberts made a requisition on Mr. Pothier, as the agent of the fur companies, for all the boats, arms and ammunition in his possession. Capt. Roberts also sent messengers to the Sault and to Fort William, 500



miles distant on the northwest shore of Lake Superior, calling on them for all the men and material in their power to furnish. A number of men responded at once from the Sault, bringing several field guns. (And yet Capt. Roberts reported that he took to Mackinaw only two six pounders.) The trip was made to Fort William and return in nine days (and must have been made in open batteaux). The indians came flocking in from all directions, and the traders and their men as well. Finding he could muster a force of 230 Canadians and 320 indians in addition to his regulars, Capt. Roberts, without waiting for the aid from Fort William, left St. Joseph at 11 a. m. on the 16th, landed on Mackinaw island at 3 the next a. m., summoned the garrison to surrender at 9, and marched into the fort at 11 a. m. on the 17th, just twenty-four hours after they embarked at St. Joseph, and without firing a gun.

Our author does not offer any explanation for this surprise and sudden capitulation of the garrison; but a little reading between the lines may be an aid at this point. Lieut. Hanks says that he was informed by an



indian interpreter, on the 16th, that the garrison at St. Joseph intended an immediate attack upon him. For fear there might be something in it, he called a meeting of the gentlemen on the island, at which it was arranged that one of them, Michael Douseman, should go over to St. Joseph to see what was going on. Leaving the island at about sunset, Douseman met the British ten or fifteen miles distant, was captured, paroled, and landed on the island at daybreak, with instructions to get the inhabitants out of the village to a point where they could be placed under guard. Later in the day the citizens were called upon to take the oath of allegiance to the British crown, and all did so except four men who were sent away with the soldiers. But Douseman did not take the oath nor was he sent away. Not only this, but later on he was allowed to go to Montreal, and in 1814, wishing to return to the island, he gave a bond signed by two prominent Montreal merchants, that he would go and return without going into any part of the United States. Michael Douseman was the agent of the Southwest Fur Company, of



which John Jacob Astor was the president. Between the American and Canadian fur companies there was an intense rivalry, the British regarding the fur trade as peculiarly their own to the exclusion of everyone else, and the Americans not conceding the point. All the circumstances seem to point to the conclusion that Douseman sold out not only his fur company, but his country also. If not, why was he allowed to remain on the island without taking the oath of allegiance? Why was it made easy for him to live in Montreal and return at pleasure to the island? What service had he performed for the British in return for these favors? For what reason did two prominent merchants of Montreal go on his bond for \$20,000, that he would not while traveling enter United States territory? The bond specified that although Douseman was a citizen of the United States, he had been permitted to remain on Mackinaw island since its capture, for the transacting of his business. Why was Capt. Roberts in such haste to make his descent on the island, unless informed that he could do so easily, instead of waiting for the assistance to come from Fort William?





